3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Grindstones (*littlo*, N.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorôbo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no musical instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Nandi.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorôbo give the Nandi baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for ironwork, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other necessaries which they cannot produce themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Nandi, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Tenure.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be paths or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorôbo divide their country into divisions called *koret*, pl. *korosuek* (N.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkorom, Sirua, Kimurienge, Sosoiyo (bamboo, N. *tekat*), and Mokopich. The majority of the present place-names are Nandi.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Murot (N.). East: Ye-torur (N. *ulin-durur* = up). West: Ye-'rek-to (= where(-the-sun)-descends-thither).

III.—Government.

The Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parñgetuny[3] arap Ñgamñgam, who was chief at the time of the Nandi Punitive Expedition, 1905. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kiruogindet* (N.)=councillor) was chosen for "ñgelyepta kitio" ("tongue only" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kiruoget ap poiisiek*, N.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Nandi use, since H.N. does not mention it.

[2] On the use of horns, *see* V, "Miscellaneous." These can hardly be considered as instruments of music.

[3] N. = lion-killer.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprizing that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*koret* plur. *korosuek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokopic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kirnokindet* — the councillor)

[1] *C* — *ch* in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into stricly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kipkorom	8	6	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpui	25	19	17	9	5	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile Category	Kipkorom	Sosoiyo	Kelpui	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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MOI
Ceposyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati (*Kimnyike*) = Cemiemit ♀
♂ Kipsoimo (*Juma*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1
KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamngam (*Kaplelac*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim (*Maina*) = Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo (*Nyongi*) = Cematia ♀
Cemesundei ♀ — ♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimaiyo (*Juma*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

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In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

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Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

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4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939).1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years saw much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her *shamba* [10] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the *shamba*, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

[10] The Swahili word *shamba* = cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the entertainment of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a jar of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between clansmen. Business is done first, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Hunting disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a clansman has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-3 are settled by discussion, the leader of the council swaying, by his opinion, the views of the members. The leader, *kirwokindet*, is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, for such a man might be too senile to act properly; but someone fairly senior in age, with his faculties intact, who is liked and respected, becomes in course of time (as in the case of the leader of the *koret* council) looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

More serious matters, like those under heads 4-6, are dealt with like the rest by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a clansman has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable, and to choose a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the *koret* council, since two different clans are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. First, the murderer has to brew some honey-wine and kill a goat from which the fat is collected. Then old men of both the families concerned meet at the house of the murderer and drink the wine he has provided, after which two of the old men oil the murderer all over with the goat's fat. The animal from which this fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. He is therefore put to some trouble and even danger, for if he has to steal a goat he risks being speared if caught, and this constitutes an act of faith which, together with the anointing of his body, frees him from the uncleanness caused by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a clansman, but the murderer must if he can give his victim's wife one cow to help towards her maintenance. This last is a Nandi custom and was probably introduced in recent times after the Dorobo had begun to acquire cattle in a small way.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of his clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby, though the lover is not allowed

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

634 [161 [178] To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *korosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *korosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* 634 had its council, *kiruoket*, with a leader or spokesman, *kiruokindet* or *apaiyet*, 623 "the old man". The *kiruokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand 622 the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kiruokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside [186] world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kiruokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kiruokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kiruokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kiruokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kiruokindet* of Meteitei was Ncascas arap Meirica, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kiruokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

634 623 [182] 197 These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Social Organization.—The Tribe.—The Wanderobo are very few in number, and are divided among three sections, each of which has its own habitat as follows (according to the Chief, who was my informant on this point):— 631 618

Section.	Habitat.	Approximate Numbers.
Kokosera	Kokosoga	40
Ulugum	Naumugum	60
Luterem	Loturim	40

Each section lives in a single village of its own, similar in structure to that already described. The sections are not totemic, but they are exogamous, and descent is in the male line. The tribe has but one chief, who lives at Kokosoga (north of Kameon). Chieftainship is hereditary, and no woman is ever permitted to wield the powers of a chief. The Ulugum and the Luterem are each presided over by a headman (paterfamilias). 643 622

Birth.—When a child is born the mother is assisted by female relations. There are no official deliveries, as among the Labwor. The Wanderobo allege that there are no special ceremonies connected with birth. Should a child come feet foremost into the world he will be lucky throughout life. It is stated that the afterbirth is thrown away with the rubbish. After weaning, a child occupies his father's hut, if a boy, and her mother's if a girl. 844 858

Betrothal and Marriage.—The rules for betrothal seem to be very similar to those usual among the Labwor, except that the prospective husband goes to the girl's people direct, without representation in the first instance. The consent of the girl and of the parents on both sides is necessary, and the number of gifts is not specified as it is among the Labwor. 584

Marriage is celebrated by a feast in which the people of the two sections to which the contracting parties belong take part. There is no dance peculiar to the marriage feast. After marriage a man lives for two days and nights in the hut of his betrothed, after which she returns with him to his own village, there to occupy a new hut already built for the newly married couple by the male partner, after he has consulted the wizard with regard to the luckiest time for erecting it. 585 591 342

Burial.—All the dead are buried without special ceremony.[1] There is no special burial ground, but graves are dug "out in the bush," well away from the village. 764

Age Classes.—These appear to be quite unknown. 561

Crime and Punishment.—The chief offence is adultery. This, however, is a private affair, and is dealt with privately, for it is not a sin against the community. A woman who is guilty in respect of this is cast out by her husband, who seeks the offending man with a view to slaying him. Murder is, however, a tribal affair, for which the punishment is death. The Labwor practice in this respect is not followed. 684 682

[1] This statement was subsequently contradicted, in so far as it was stated that the wizard attends at all burials.

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. 591 595 The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by 613 the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts 769 of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually [775] successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again.

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys, and a pre-marital 881 rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male 561 initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the [177] Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups.

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature 622 being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. 623 kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu [171] muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed 648 allegiance to the laibon of the Masai.

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare 776 the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun 771 Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain 778 the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the [881] mutamaiyu.

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo 101 of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo [628] Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and [166] went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the

10: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1905 FL6 Dorobo FL6

depths of the forests on that mountain. The incident was referred to in a description of the journey in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1892 and August 1894. During thirteen long years nothing was heard of these people, nor does any other traveller seem to have referred to them; it was therefore with some interest that a representative of these people was discovered in a Dorobo colony found on the north-east side of the Aberdare range in the vicinity of Pîs swamp, and it was then elucidated that the bearded people are the Digiri clan of the Oggiek tribe, and that they acknowledge as their ruler a chieftainess named Ongibore who lives near Nyeri Sta. She is married to one Sibirai, who is also said to be one of the bearded people. Needless to remark, the possession of beards and their acknowledgment of a female ruler are features of great rarity in Central Africa. Although the information is still very scanty, it has been considered advisable to communicate it in the hopes that it may prove an incentive to further research. I append short comparative vocabularies of these dialects of the Oggiek language, and at the same time give in separate columns the Nandi and Masai equivalents for purpose of comparison. It will at once be seen that some words are the same in Oggiek language as Nandi, and other words are the same as Masai. At first sight it might appear that the Oggiek had borrowed these words from Nandi and Masai, but it is rather remarkable to find the Digiri clan of Oggiek, whose great haunt is the Kenia forest, using many Nandi words when practically the only languages spoken in that region are Masai and Kikuyu.

They all speak Masai because there are a number of poor Masai living among them—people who lost all their cattle in the plague of 1891 and after that took to a hunting life. It therefore seems to me highly probable that the so-called Nandi words used by the Digiri people may be true Oggiek words gradually borrowed by the Nandi and now incorporated with the Nandi language; in the same way a few Oggiek roots may have become incorporated with Masai. The subject is one of great interest, and it is to be regretted that our opportunities of studying these people are so infrequent.

The following is a list of the Oggiek clans:—

Clan.	Chief.	Clan.	Chief.
Oggiek of Kamillo or Tinderit	Kipsangtan.	Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Kipkurerek.
Oggiek, east of Lumbwa country	Pilukum.	Do. do.	Kamiek.
Oggiek in Eldama Ravine	Kakimengiria.	Oggiek, south-west Kenia and also Pîs swamp	Digiri.
Oggiek, north of Kenia	Siniwok.	Oggiek of Kisima, north of EasoNyiro	Lalariek.
Oggiek of Loldiani	Kaivatet.	Oggiek, south of Ndabibi plain, south-west of Naivasha	Saleta.
Oggiek on the Mau range, west of Nakuru	Chibcharwanek.		

The head Laibon of the Oggiek is said to be one Lamondo, who lives with the Masai at Ngong lel Mariko, a hill in the region of the Lower Kedong.

The Digiri have a chieftainess named Ongibore who is said to live near Nyeri or Kakeya in North Kikuyu. I would mention that I am indebted to Mr. A. C. Hollis for the Masai equivalents in the vocabulary.